Conception of Wisdom in Emerging Adults: A Cross-Cultural Comparison

by

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A thesis submitted in conformity with the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts
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Abstract
The current study examined differences between Canadian, Indian, and Indian immigrants understanding of wisdom. Participants were 123 emerging adults (56.1% female) from Canada ($n = 50$, 50% female), India ($n = 30$, 51.7% female), and immigrants from India to Canada ($n = 44$, 65.9% female) and ranged in age from 18 to 30 years ($M_{age} = 23.35$, $SD = 2.80$). Participants completed self-report questionnaires on wisdom, ethnic identity, and life satisfaction along with semi-structured interviews. Results showed significant differences between all three groups in their understanding of wisdom. Immigrants showed a more diverse understanding of wisdom and typically reported achieved identity status for their Canadian or Indian identities. Group and wisdom did not interact to predict life satisfaction. These main findings suggest that Canadians, Indians, and immigrants differ in their conception of wisdom with immigrants understanding often falling between their Indian heritage and their new Canadian environment.
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Chapter 1
Introduction to Identity

1 Narrative and Identity in Emerging Adults

Emerging adulthood is a critical period for identity development. Adolescents and emerging adults begin to self-reflect during this life stage, which allows for an extended experience of personal identity to be formed (Erikson, 1968; Habermas & Bluck, 2000; Harter & Monsour, 1992; McAdams, 1988). Much modern work in psychology extends the work of Erik Erikson, developed with the help of his wife and Joan Erikson (Erikson, 1968).

1.1 Eriksonian view of Identity

Erikson (1959, 1963, 1968) proposed a theory of psychosocial development which included eight stages of dilemmas that we experience across the lifespan. The stage that Erikson (1963) focused on the most was stage five—adolescence and emerging adulthood—concerned with identity versus role confusion. The primary question to be answered during this life stage is “Who am I?” (Erikson, 1959, 1963, 1968; McLean & Pasupathi, 2012). Emerging adults may be experiencing an identity crisis at this point in their lives.

Erikson (1959) viewed emerging adulthood as a period in which individuals begin to make commitments consistent with how they view their past and current self. Erikson (1968) also stated that during adolescence and emerging adulthood, individuals develop advanced cognitive abilities, which allows for a heightened awareness of one’s surroundings and shifts in beliefs, leading to potential vulnerabilities. This change in beliefs and increased feelings of vulnerability can set the stage for identity formation (Erikson, 1968). Experiences that foster identity exploration are experiences that challenge a person’s current understanding of their identity in terms of their beliefs about the self and future goals (McLean & Pasupathi, 2012). During this stage of adolescence and emerging adulthood, identity is critical to successful development (Arnett, 2000; Erikson, 1968).
One way to understand personal identity is via identity status, which involves exploration and commitment to define interpersonal and ideological goals in an individual’s life (Marcia, 1966, 1993; Schwartz, 2001). Marcia (1980) defined identity as a self-constructed set of abilities, beliefs, and personal history that allows individuals to feel distinct from others. The more developed an identity is, the less resources they need to use to evaluate themselves (Marcia, 1980). Marcia (1980) proposed that there are four different identity statuses that appear in emerging adulthood. These four statuses are identity achievement, foreclosure, diffusion, and moratorium. Those who reach identity achievement are at ease with their identity and have chosen their preferred career paths and personal goals (Marcia, 1980). Foreclosure includes individuals who are committed to a particular career or personal goal, but they may have received parental or other pressures rather than choosing this path for themselves (Marcia, 1980). Identity diffusion involves individuals who have made no commitment and are not engaging in exploration of possible identities for themselves (Marcia, 1980). Finally, moratorium is experienced when individuals are exploring their options, but have not committed to a particular path just yet (Marcia, 1980). As they are going through this life stage of emerging adulthood, they may encounter an identity crisis, which can easily change their views of the world. Identity achievement is important at this life stage, as growth can lead one to respond appropriately to life’s challenges, in turn, leading to wisdom (Orwoll & Perlmutter, 1990).

Wisdom is a virtue that comes out of successful resolution of the final life stage in Erikson’s (1963) theory of psychosocial development. This final life stage of integrity versus despair involves self-reflection on the accomplishments and success from one’s life, if one possesses integrity they are on the path to successful aging (Erikson, 1963). This allows an individual to look back on their life and be satisfied with what they have accomplished, as well as an accepting nature on death; this leads an individual to the virtue of wisdom (Erikson, 1963). Wisdom as a virtue and successful identity development are important for emerging adults who want to achieve successful aging, and having a concrete identity is the first step on that path.
1.2 Wisdom and Narrative Identity

One way to study wisdom is through real-life contexts (Bluck & Glück, 2004; Glück, Bluck, Baron, & McAdams, 2005). Ardelt (2005) argued that difficult crises and obstacles in people’s lives that challenge their existing worldviews and therefore broaden their perspective, foster wisdom. Life experiences that are challenging and transformative elicit the most wisdom (Bluck & Glück, 2004). Challenging life experiences bring to light what one might need to understand in order to cope with these difficulties. Narrative processing acts as a mechanism through which individuals make meaning of and link life events to the self (Mansfield, McLean, & Lilgendahl, 2010). Reflection in narrative processing relates to the complex thinking that is associated with wisdom (Mansfield et al., 2010). It is adaptive for individuals to reflect more on stressful events than non-stressful ones (Taylor, 1991; see review by Baumeister, Bratslavsky, Finkenauer, & Vohs, 2001), making stressful events key in reflecting on the self and self-understanding.

During narrative processing, individuals who emerge transformed from a negative life experience engage in a two-step process. First, they explore the experience in depth, reflecting on how it felt, how it happened, what the future holds, and what role it plays in their life story, which typically leads to personal growth (Pals, 2006). Second, they articulate and commit the self to a positive resolution of the event, which leads to happiness (Pals, 2006). When a person’s narrative identity contains the coherent positive resolution of experiences that have challenged identity in the past, the self is strengthened by this memory and made to be resilient in the face of new challenges, resulting in a sense of satisfaction with how one’s life is going (Pals, 2006).

Instances in which people report being wise are typically situations in which they had to cope with difficult situations and turned those negative events into positive and transformative ones (Bluck & Glück, 2004). Researchers have found that adults who score high on generativity – the seventh life stage discussed by Erikson (1963) – tend to think of their lives as redemptive stories (Mansfield & McAdams, 1996; McAdams & Bowman, 2001; McAdams, Diamond, de St. Aubin, & Mansfield, 1997; McAdams, Reynolds, Lewis, Patten, & Bowman, 2001). These redemption stories help individuals
define and understand who they are as a person. Older adults may be thought of as wiser than young adults, but studies suggest that younger people can be wise too, especially those who have experienced difficult life events (Bluck & Glück, 2004; Pascual-Leone, 2000). There have been studies that have shown that the path to wisdom does start to develop in adolescence (Pasupathi, Staudinger, & Baltes, 2001), making emerging adults an ideal group to identify whether identity is beginning to have effects on wisdom.

Narratives can help individuals organize memories (Brewer, 1996) and knowledge of one’s autobiographical past is integral to an understanding of one’s current self (McAdams, 1998; Pillemer, 1998). Narratives enrich our understanding of the self and this understanding is essential in developing wisdom (Randall, 2012). Narratives link wisdom to learning both about and from our self-defining stories (Randall, 2012). Understanding identity narratives is essential in order to comprehend one’s understanding of wisdom.

1.3 Why is Identity Important?

The framework of this study uses identity in emerging adulthood as critical for the development of wisdom. As Erikson (1963) discussed, adolescence and emerging adulthood is a period of time that an individual experiences an identity crisis, or psychosocial dilemma. Some individuals will be successful in completing this life stage during emerging adulthood. These individuals will fall into the category of achieved identity status, the ideal outcome of this psychosocial dilemma. Moreover, the meaning that these individuals make from their life experience and their narrative identity will also be important. It will help to construct a narrative identity of how they fit into the world and their story of “Who Am I?”.

Identity narratives differ cross-culturally. Individualistic cultures tend to emphasize achievement of the individual and self-discovery, whereas collectivist cultures emphasize socially oriented achievement (Markus & Kitayama, 1991). Less research has been done on the ethnic identity of immigrants and how that relates to wisdom. Ethnic identity is defined as,
the feeling of belonging to one’s group, a clear understanding of the meaning of one’s membership, positive attitudes toward the group, familiarity with its history...involvement with its practices (Phinney et al., 1994).

Studies suggest that ethnic identity might represent a component of personal identity (Schwartz, Luyckx, & Crocetti, 2015), which has important implications for how one feels about their ethnic identity. Immigrants are trying to balance and integrate an identity from their culture of origin, as well as the new culture they find themselves in.

Typically, wisdom memories in autobiographical narratives are associated with current developmental tasks (König & Glück, 2012), such as conflicts in adolescence and emerging adulthood. These life tasks are either culturally normative or idiosyncratic, with normative tasks following a “master narrative” in which culturally salient stories are references for how to organize one’s life and guide the meaning people make of their experiences. These narratives of normative life tasks during emerging adulthood use culture-specific examples, such as going to university, getting married, having children, starting a career, etc. (Thomsen & Berntsen, 2008). These master narratives help emerging adults build personal narratives and choose self-defining memories that answer the question “Who Am I?” (McLean, 2005). This is particularly important for immigrants in emerging adulthood, who will have a different narrative than the norm and different tasks they must accomplish in order to thrive and so who may view their life story as potentially redemptive. Immigrants may be more apt to experience an identity or life crisis, as they are dealing with a challenging life transition. The immigration experience is difficult, especially for emerging adults, who are at a critical period of identity formation. This life transition may have added benefits of discovering the self more in depth, and provide a better understanding of the surrounding world.
Chapter 2
The Importance of Wisdom

2 Personal Experience and Wisdom

2.1 What is Wisdom?

According to Nozick (1990), wisdom can be defined as the understanding required for living well and coping with life’s problems and avoiding these problems that we find ourselves caught up in. In general, wisdom can be considered to be the ability to comprehend, reflect on, and manage emotions associated with difficult life events (Ardelt, 2003). This ability leads to a way of understanding about life that is concerned with how one thinks (Bluck & Glück, 2004).

Ardelt (1997) describes wisdom as a frame of mind essential to personal development. This is similar to Erikson’s (1963) understanding of wisdom as a virtue of successful aging or integrity. Ardelt (1997, 2003; Benedikovicová & Ardelt, 2008) discusses her three dimensions of wisdom: cognitive, reflective and affective, and how these three dimensions allow older adults in their final life stage to resolve their problems or solve their personal psychosocial dilemma. This leads wise older adults to experience life satisfaction (Ardelt, 1997). In addition, research has shown similarities between personal wisdom and achieved identity status, such that the cognitive, reflective, and affective domains are present in both achieved identity status and personal wisdom (Beaumont, 2009).

2.2 Developing Wisdom

The development of wisdom has important implications for how individuals view the world and adapt their ideas and beliefs in accordance to that view. According to Brown (2004), wisdom develops as individuals “learn from life”. His model of wisdom development states that individuals reflect on, engage with, and apply lessons they have learned to their everyday lives (Brown, 2004). Brown (2004) suggests that there are three conditions that contribute to the development of wisdom: (1) orientation to learning, (2) experience, and (3) interaction with others. These conditions can be influenced by one’s
surrounding environment. This relates back to the idea that life experiences foster wisdom, as suggested by Bluck & Glück (2004). Learning from difficult life experiences help individuals to reflect and make meaning out of everyday situations (Mansfield et al., 2010). Wisdom has also been found to be associated with post-traumatic growth (Webster & Deng, 2015). Again, demonstrating that wisdom develops as individuals grow and learn from different life events and experiences. Webster and Deng (2015) also found that changes in worldview as a result of trauma predicts wisdom. Trauma leads to a change in worldview, which in turn can foster individuals to develop wisdom, as they are “learning from life” and growing through hardships (Webster & Deng, 2015). Moreover, Ardelt (2005) argued that difficult life experiences challenge current worldviews, bringing about the development of wisdom. The idea of personal wisdom can also be applied to this model. Personal wisdom relates to an individuals self-understanding (Staudinger, Dörner, & Mickler, 2005). Personal wisdom includes the act of self-reflection, a key component of Brown’s (2004) model. For example, Chen, Wu, Cheng, and Hsueh (2011) found eight facilitative factors of wisdom that were determined by wise educators who were nominated by their peers: work experience, life experience, social interaction, observation, family teachings, professional development, religion, and reading (Chen et al., 2011). These factors allow individuals to assimilate experience and knowledge, which promotes internal adjustments (Chen et al., 2011). This process helps individuals to face challenges in their lives and become willing to learn and adapt (Chen et al., 2011). By doing this, the participants in Chen et al.’s (2011) study were able to change their actions and receive feedback in result of those actions. If individuals can reflect on their past experiences, they are able to “learn from life” and this process can help in the development of wisdom.

Wise individuals can understand the importance of working collectively for a universal goal (Orwoll & Perlmutter, 1990). There are many theorists that have referenced wisdom as important for the development of an integrated self at the highest level of development. For example, Erikson’s (1968, 1982; Erikson, Erikson, & Kivnick, 1986) seventh life stage is integrity versus despair. Erikson (1982) referenced that wisdom in this seventh life stage is related to an individual’s ability to step away from themselves, and understand a more global and universal perspective. Jung’s (1953a, 1953b, 1959a,
theory of the individuation of the self related to gaining insight and understanding a deeper version of the self, again referencing some aspect of wisdom through self-awareness. Current studies also show a difference in personality for wise individuals. Orwoll (1988) found that wise nominees and creative nominees were no different on their levels of well-being, but wise nominees scored significantly higher on ego-integrity, a measure associated with wisdom. Wise nominees were also found to score higher on ego-integrity compared to older adults of the general population (Orwoll, 1988). Additionally, wise nominees were more likely to have a universal perspective (Orwoll, 1988).

Implicit theories of wisdom, otherwise known as laypeople’s understandings of wisdom, have been widely documented in the literature. The earliest study of the implicit theories of wisdom comes from Clayton (1975) in which she scaled words related to the meaning of wisdom in adults. In 1975, she found that the most common terms associated with wisdom were experienced, intuitive, introspective, pragmatic, understanding, gentle, empathetic, intelligent, peaceful, knowledgeable, sense of humour, and observant. Later, Clayton and Birren (1980) also added the terms wise, aged, and myself from results of another study. Clayton stated that there were two present dimensions of wisdom, a reflective dimension and an affective dimension.

Sternberg (1985) found the following implicit theories of wisdom: reasoning ability, sagacity, learning from ideas and environment, judgment, expeditious use of information, and perspicacity. Holliday and Chandler (1986) found that there are five factors that people typically associate with wisdom: exceptional understanding, good judgment, general competence, interpersonal skills, and social skills.

Brown and Greene (2006) also found that wisdom is a multidimensional construct composed of self-knowledge, emotional regulation, altruism, inspirational engagement, judgment, life knowledge, and life skills. More recently, Glück and Bluck (2011) found two different conceptions of wisdom: a cognitive conception and an integrative conception. More specifically, they found that cognitive aspects were central to wisdom, but the integrative approach rated affective and reflective aspects more important to
wisdom than the cognitive approach (Glück & Bluck, 2011). Glück and Bluck (2011) also found an age effect, such that young adults are more likely to consider concern for others equal to cognition and experience in how central these factors are to wisdom. This result could suggest that young adults have a different conception of wisdom compared to older adults due to differences in current developmental tasks (Glück et al., 2005).

Exemplarist theories are similar to implicit theories. Zagzebski (2013) suggests that moral concepts are engrained in exemplars of individuals who are morally good and we learn these things through moral practices or narratives of inspiring individuals. People can understand that a good person is “like that” moral exemplar in many ways (Zagzebski, 2013). As Paulhus, Wehr, Harms, and Strasser (2002) suggest, our view of exemplars mimics our ideas of what a wise person ought to be like. There are typical wisdom exemplars, which differ from exemplars of intelligence (Paulhus et al., 2002). Zagzebski (2013) proposed a similar theory of moral exemplars. In addition, social biases or stereotypes may influence what individuals consider being a “wise” person. Perlmutter, Adams, Nyquist, and Kaplan (1988) found that individuals highly agree on some demographic characteristics of wise people, showing how important social influence can be on our understanding of wisdom. This social influence makes it important to understand how the different cultures, and being an immigrant from another cultures may change an individual’s understanding of the meaning of wisdom.

Wisdom has been known to vary across cultures. Takayama (2002) examined implicit theories of wisdom in Japan and found that these individuals believed wisdom was practical and experience-based, and less likely to be associated with reasoning and intelligence. Yang (2001) noted that Taiwanese Chinese related wisdom to knowledge, compassion, openness to experience, and modesty. They felt wisdom was about achieving harmony in society (Yang, 2001). Takahashi and Bordia (2000) compared Americans and Australians to Indians and Japanese on their implicit theories of wisdom. They found that the Western understanding of wisdom was more analytic and associated with knowledge and expertise, whereas the Eastern view of wisdom was associated with being discreet, age, and experience (Takahashi & Bordia, 2000). One study looking specifically at Indian ancient literatures (i.e., the Bhagavad Gita) conceptualization of
wisdom found that wisdom was mentioned in stories in relation to rich knowledge about life, emotional regulation, contributing to the common good, insight, control over the senses, and faith in God (Jeste & Vahia, 2008). The latter two characteristics are different than the modern literatures interpretation of wisdom, and have influenced implicit theories of those steeped in Indian culture (Jeste & Vahia, 2008). These differences make Indians and Indian immigrants ideal groups to examine for differences in the understanding of wisdom.

2.3 Acculturation

Differences in the conception of wisdom are important to understand as part of a larger process of acculturation. Acculturation is the process of cultural and psychological change that happens between two or more cultural groups and its individuals (Berry, 2005). According to Berry (2005), there are four possible types of immigration outcomes: (1) integration, integrating both the native culture and the host country’s culture, (2) marginalization, identity does not fit with either culture, (3) assimilation, closer to host country in identity and rejects home country, and (4) ethnocentrism, rejects host country and overvalues native country (Sayegh & Lasry, 2012). During this process of acculturation, immigrants struggle to define themselves by their native roots, as well as incorporating the host country’s culture into their identity (Bhatia & Ram, 2001; Paat & Pellebon, 2012). The ideal goal is to reach integration—when one’s identity is experienced as achieved in both cultures—but that is not always possible. Therefore, it is important to consider the difficulties that immigrants face when moving to a new country in establishing their ethnic identity.

Immigrants typically experience more conflicts (i.e., in interpersonal relationships) during adolescence and emerging adulthood if they do not assimilate well into a new culture (Tardif & Geva, 2006). Moreover, one study found that immigration in Europe was associated with poor mental health in young adults, as well as a higher risk of suicide attempt by younger women (Kosidou et al., 2012). This emphasizes the critical need to ensure that immigrants are able to integrate well into a new culture. If they do not integrate well, there are mental health risks involved. Also, studies have found that after life transitions, if people feel a sense of individual growth, they are more satisfied that
their transition had a positive impact on their lives (Bauer & McAdams, 2004). This study can relate to the life transition of immigration; if immigrants feel a sense of individual growth, they may identify positively with this life transition. In addition, negative social ties predict psychological distress more than positive social ties predict psychological well-being (Okun, Melichar, & Hill, 1990) and social conflict has been found to have lasting effects on mental health (Vinokur & van Ryn, 1993). Social ties are especially important for immigrants, as they are experiencing difficulties in interpersonal relationships during the immigration experience (Tardif & Geva, 2006). Immigrants may develop wisdom, depending on how they manage the immigration experience, and their implicit understanding of wisdom may evolve in light of this experience.
Chapter 3

3 The Current Study

Over the past five years, Asia has been Canada’s largest source of immigrants (Statistics Canada, 2011), making Indian immigrants an important group to examine regarding the conception of wisdom in Canada. Research has shown differences cross-culturally in how people conceptualize wisdom (Brezina & van Oudenhoven, 2012; Takahashi & Bordia, 2000; Yang, 2001). To date, no studies have examined the conception of wisdom among Indian immigrants. This is a key concept to be examined, as wisdom is important for living a successful life (Erikson, 1959). Moreover, immigrant emerging adults would be the ideal group to examine as they are at the prime age of identity formation (Arnett, 2000), therefore, beginning to form their beliefs and ideas about the self and the world. Future research needs to address the idea of “hybrid identities” (Arnett, 2002, 2014) that occur in the immigrant population, as these identities are more complex and these individuals possess different identity narratives (Azmitia, 2014). To address this gap in the wisdom literature, the current study will explore differences in the conception of wisdom through narratives among emerging adults at university in Canada (domestic and immigrant) and in India.

This will be the first study to look at the relationship between culture, identity, and wisdom in immigrants. First, the current study examined immigrant student’s identity status for both their Indian and Canadian identities. It can be hypothesized that the majority of this group will identify equally with their Indian and their Canadian identities. This identity achievement, or integration, may have an effect on how the immigrant emerging adults understand wisdom in comparison to Canadians and Indians. These differences or similarities will be discussed and it is predicted that because the immigrant group feels a type of integration between their identities, they are likely to have a different understanding of wisdom compared to Canadians and Indians. Next, I examined Indian immigrant’s implicit theories of wisdom evident in their wisdom narratives in comparison to Indians and Canadians in order to understand personal wisdom in immigrants. This study included three groups of university students: emerging adults in
India, emerging adults in Canada, and emerging adult immigrants from India to Canada. It was hypothesized that all three groups (Canadian, Indian immigrant, and Indian) will differ in their implicit theories of wisdom, with immigrants showing a diverse understanding of wisdom by incorporating aspects of both Western and Eastern cultures; different understandings of wisdom will be associated with different personal experiences of wisdom and how it develops and their personal aspirations for living the best life in Canada or India. Finally, I examined how wisdom scores influence perceived life satisfaction across the three groups (Canadians, Indian immigrants, and Indians). It was predicted that higher scores on wisdom should predict higher perceived life satisfaction regardless of group membership.
Chapter 4

4 Method

4.1 Study Design

I used a concurrent mixed methods design to converge the information gained to validate and expand (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007) on the implicit theories of wisdom in Indians, immigrants, and Canadians. The mixed methods research design included semi-structured interviews and a questionnaire containing two international measures of wisdom in all three groups (Indians, Indian immigrants, and Canadians). Two scales measuring ethnic identity and one scale measuring life satisfaction were also examined. I will be using the triangulation design of data transformation to transform the qualitative interview data into numerical frequencies in order to compare the different implicit theories present across the groups. This will allow for triangulation of etic-imposed conceptions of wisdom (through the use of standardized instruments) with emic conceptions. This mixed methods design will be used to build on the results of the two measures of wisdom in all three groups and to additionally expand on these scales through the use of narratives in the qualitative data.

4.2 Participants

Participants were drawn from a larger sample \((N = 734)\) that participated in a cross-cultural study of wisdom in Canada, the United States, Ukraine, China, Serbia, India, and Iran from 2008-2015. For the present study, the sample \((n = 123, 56.1\% \text{ female})\) was comprised of emerging adults in India \((n = 30, 51.7\% \text{ female})\) and Indian immigrants to Canada \((n = 44, 65.9\% \text{ female})\), which is augmented by the subset of emerging adults from Canada \((n = 50, 50\% \text{ female})\) from the international study (2008-2015). Twenty-three of the immigrant participants are from an Indian and Indian-immigrant study of wisdom (carried out at the University of Toronto in 2011 in cooperation with the Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute) and 21 of the immigrant participants were collected from 2014-2015 (at the University of Toronto) in order to make significant comparisons between all three groups. All participants were enrolled at a university in either Canada or in India.
Of the sample for the current study, participants ranged in age from 18 to 30 years ($M_{age} = 23.35, SD = 2.80$).

### 4.3 Procedure

Participants were recruited from the University of Toronto in Canada (for the Canadian and Indian immigrant participants) and from the Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda in Gujarat, India by a collaborating researcher, Dr. Divya Sharma (for the Indian participants). As incentive to participate, participants were given $15 compensation. The University Ethics board prior to administration approved the study in 2008 (and renewed in 2014) and all participants provided informed active consent (see Appendix A and B) prior to participation. Trained research assistants administered the questionnaire and the interview.

### 4.4 Measures

#### 4.4.1 Demographics

Multiple demographic variables (see Appendix C) were assessed, but only age and gender were used for the current study.

#### 4.4.2 Ethnic Identity

There were two ethnic identity scales that were adapted from Umaña-Taylor, Yazedjian, and Bámaca-Gómez’s (2004) Ethnic Identity Scale. These were used in the current study as The Indian Identity Scale and The Canadian Identity Scale and were completed by the Indian immigrant participants. Due to an error with the data collection in 2008, only the new immigrant participants ($n = 21$) filled out these two scales. These scales assess three domains of ethnic identity: exploration, resolution, and affirmation. The exploration domain included questions such as “I have participated in activities that have exposed me to my Indian/Canadian identity”. The resolution domain included questions such as “I am clear about what my Indian/Canadian identity means to me”. The affirmation domain included questions such as “My feelings about my Indian/Canadian identity are mostly positive”. Answers to these questions ranged on a Likert scale from 1 = Does not describe
me at all to 4 = Describes me very well. From these domains, an individual can be categorized into four different identity status groups: achieved, moratorium, foreclosure, or diffuse, and two different affirmation types: positive or negative. Total scores for the exploration, resolution, and affirmation subscales are organized into high and low values based on the cutoff points of 19.5, 20.5, and 9.5 respectively. The identity statuses are then determined based on high versus low scores on the exploration subscale paired with high versus low scores on the resolution subscale. High exploration and high resolution represent identity achievement. High exploration and low resolution represent moratorium. Low exploration and high resolution represent foreclosure. Finally, low exploration and low resolution represent identity diffusion. Individuals were categorized into an identity status based on whether they were high versus low on both exploration and resolution.

4.4.3 Wisdom

Two international measures of wisdom were used in this study, the Three-Dimensional Wisdom Scale (3D-WS; Ardelt, 2003) and the Adult Self-Transcendence Inventory (ASTI; Levenson et al., 2005). These two instruments measure an individual’s wisdom score. The 3D-WS defines the construct of wisdom in terms of three subscales: cognitive, affective, and reflective. The cognitive subscale assesses characteristics such as intellect, acknowledgment of the uncertainties in life, and the ability to make important decisions. This included questions such as “Ignorance is bliss” and “A person either knows the answer to a question or he/she doesn’t”. The affective subscale assesses compassion, caring for others, and nurturing the well-being of others. This included questions such as “Sometimes I feel a real compassion for everyone” (reversed) and “If I see people in need, I try to help them one way or another” (reversed). The reflective subscale assesses questions about perspective-taking and freedom from illusions/resentment. This included questions such as “I always try to look at all sides of a problem” (reversed) and “When I look back on what has happened to me, I can’t help feeling resentful”.

Previously, a factor analysis was run on the larger sample of participants from Canada, the United States, Ukraine, China, Serbia, India and Iran to identify mutually exclusive
factors characterizing the latent construct of wisdom. The factor analysis yielded three subscales that represent the items in the ASTI: equanimity, cosmic perspective, and social concern. The equanimity subscale included questions such as “I do not become angry easily” and “I find much joy in life” and refers to stability in life. The cosmic perspective (or distancing) subscale included questions such as “I feel part of something greater than myself” and “I feel that my individual life is a part of a greater whole” and refers to distancing of time and space. The social concern subscale included questions such as “I don’t worry about other people’s opinions of me” and “My happiness is not dependent on other people and things” and refers to one not being dependent on others for things like happiness and joy in life. These subscales all referred to aspects and characteristics of a wise person and will be used in the current study. Both the 3D-WS and the ASTI included a Likert scale ranging from 1 = Strongly Agree to 5 = Strongly Disagree.

4.4.4 Perceived Life Satisfaction

The Satisfaction with Life Scale (SWLS; Diener, Emmons, Larsen, & Griffin, 1985) was used to assess perceived life satisfaction. This scale included five questions with answers ranging on a Likert scale from 1 = Strongly disagree to 7 = Strongly agree. The five questions present in the scale were: (1) “In most ways my life is close to my ideal”, (2) “The conditions of my life are excellent”, (3) “I am satisfied with my life”, (4) “So far, I have gotten the important things I want in life”, and (5) “If I could live my life over, I would change almost nothing”.

4.4.5 Semi-structured Interviews

In the interviews, participants are explicitly asked the following questions: “Who is the wisest person you know in your own life?”, “Describe a time in your life when you were wise or approached as being wise”, “Who is the wisest person you know of in history?”, and “What is wisdom and what does wisdom mean to you?” (see Appendix D for interview guide, only these four questions were used for the purpose of the current study).
Forty-nine Canadians, 23 Indians, and 20 Indian immigrants\textsuperscript{1} consented to participating in the interviews. Interviews were recorded and transcribed by research assistants. Research assistants who spoke Hindu translated the interviews of the Indian participants into English. Interviews ranged in length from approximately 15 minutes to 1.5 hours.

4.5 Analyses

First, reliability statistics will be conducted on the 3D-WS and the ASTI overall to assess the internal consistency of the items present in both of the scales. Reliability statistics will also be conducted on the three sub-dimensions of the 3D-WS (cognitive, reflective, and affective) and the ASTI (equanimity, cosmic perspective, and social concern). Second, frequencies will be run for both Canadian identity status and Indian identity status in order to determine the percentage of participants that fall into each identity status on each of the scales.

In order to examine the subscales of wisdom present in the 3D-WS and the ASTI, I conducted a correlational analysis, split by each group (Indian, Indian immigrant, and Canadian). In addition, a multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was conducted using group membership (i.e., Canadian, Indian immigrant, or Indian) to predict wisdom, with the 3D-WS and the ASTI as outcome variables to understand the differences in each of the three groups (Canadian, Indian immigrant, and Indian) in their understanding of how the items present in both scales represent the construct of wisdom. Another one-way between-subjects univariate ANOVA will be conducted to test whether group membership predicts perceived life satisfaction. Finally, two ANOVAs were conducted using group membership (Canadian, Indian immigrant, and Indian) and wisdom (as a continuous variable for the 3D-WS and the ASTI separately) as the predictor variables and life satisfaction as the dependent variable to determine whether wisdom and group membership interact to predict life satisfaction.

In addition to assessing the subscales of the wisdom measures, semi-structured interviews

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\textsuperscript{1} Ten of the Indian immigrant participants are from the Indian and Indian-immigrant study of wisdom (carried out at the University of Toronto in 2011 in cooperation with the Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute) and 10 of the Indian immigrant participants are from the new sample (collected from 2014-2015 at the University of Toronto).
were analyzed and coded for the presence of implicit theories of wisdom. The interviews were analyzed through Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis (IPA; Smith, Flowers, & Larkin, 2009). IPA is an approach that involves understanding the essence of lived experience (Smith et al., 2009). The goal of IPA is to extract emergent themes from the interviews. Each transcript was read thoroughly by two research assistants. In total, there were five groups of two research assistants that would analyze the transcripts individually and meet up as a group to compare and contrast emergent themes that were present in the transcript, coming to a conclusion together on what themes were present or not. Initial comments on the descriptive, linguistic, and conceptual nature of the interview were recorded. Following this, research assistants identified emergent themes that were present in the narrative. After all transcripts had been analyzed, they were scanned for connections and clusters of themes, using Bluck and Glück’s (2005) subcategories of implicit theories of wisdom to help organize the themes into categories. This created the master themes and sub-categories of themes that were present in the narratives. For the current study, emergent themes will be used to assess an individual’s implicit theories of wisdom present in their narratives. In order to search for connections across themes, I used the numeration approach discussed by Smith et al. (2009). This involves taking into account the frequency in which a theme is supported (Smith et al., 2009) and comparing these themes across groups. This numeration process involves transforming the qualitative data into quantitative data in order to easily compare differences among the groups. This will allow for convergence and comparison of what themes appear to be present in all three groups (Canadians, Indian immigrants, and Indians). Qualitative interview data will be examined in detail according to the themes present and differences across the groups. Example quotations will be provided to better understand how the themes were represented in the data.
Chapter 5

5 Results

5.1 Reliability

The 3D-WS appeared to have good internal consistency, $\alpha = .88$. The cognitive dimension of the 3D-WS appeared to have acceptable internal consistency, $\alpha = .73$. The reflective dimension of the 3D-WS appeared to have acceptable internal consistency, $\alpha = .78$. The affective dimension of the 3D-WS appeared to have acceptable, but low, internal consistency, $\alpha = .65$.

The ASTI appeared to have acceptable internal consistency, $\alpha = .71$. The equanimity dimension of the ASTI also appeared to have acceptable internal consistency, $\alpha = .71$. However, the cosmic perspective dimension of the ASTI appeared to have poor internal consistency, $\alpha = .58$, as did the social concern dimension, $\alpha = .43$. Due to the poor internal consistency of the cosmic perspective dimension and the social concern dimension, we will not be using these sub-dimensions in the following analyses.

Due to the low numbers of participants who completed the ethnic identity scales, we relied on previous studies to attest the reliability of the scale dimensions.

5.2 Ethnic Identity

The results of the frequency data for identity status for the Indian immigrant participants on The Indian Identity Scale show that most immigrant’s Indian identity status was achieved (57.4%), followed by foreclosure (28.6%), diffuse (14.3%), and moratorium (4.8%). Most immigrant participants had high affirmation (76.2%), in comparison to low affirmation (23.8%), about their Indian identity.

The results of The Canadian Identity Scale for the Indian immigrant participants show that most immigrant’s Indian identity status was also achieved (57.1%), followed by diffuse (23.8%), foreclosure (14.3%), and moratorium (4.8%). The majority of immigrant
participants had high affirmation (61.9%), in comparison to low affirmation (38.1%), about their Canadian identity.

5.3 Wisdom

5.3.1 Correlational results

Pearson correlational analysis was conducted, split by group, to examine the relationship between the wisdom scales (3D-WS and ASTI) and their dimensions (i.e., cognitive, reflective, and affective for the 3D-WS and equanimity for the ASTI). The correlational analysis in Canada (see Table 1) revealed a significant positive linear relationship between all dimensions/scales to the 3D-WS, as well as the ASTI and equanimity. The reflective dimension was also positively correlated to all dimensions/scales except the affective dimension. In addition, the cognitive dimension was positively correlated to the ASTI. The ASTI and the affective dimension were not related. As we can see from these results, in Canada, the 3D-WS and the ASTI are related to the majority of dimensions of wisdom present in both of the scales (except the affective dimension for the ASTI), as well as to each other.

Table 1
Correlation Matrix for Canada

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. 3D-WS</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Cognitive</td>
<td>.67**</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Reflective</td>
<td>.75**</td>
<td>.37**</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Affective</td>
<td>.66**</td>
<td>.17</td>
<td>.16</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. ASTI</td>
<td>.52**</td>
<td>.40**</td>
<td>.57**</td>
<td>.12</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Equanimity</td>
<td>.48**</td>
<td>.25</td>
<td>.50**</td>
<td>.24</td>
<td>.72**</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* p < .05
** p < .001

The analysis for the Indian immigrants (see Table 2) revealed a significant positive linear relationship between all dimensions/scales to the 3D-WS. The ASTI was positively correlated to all scales/dimensions except the cognitive dimension. Reflective dimension was also positively correlated to all scales/dimensions. In addition, the cognitive
dimension was also correlated to the affective dimension. The affective dimension was also positively associated with equanimity. As we can see from these results, for immigrants, the 3D-WS and the ASTI are related to the majority of dimensions of wisdom present in both of the scales (except the cognitive dimension for the ASTI), as well as to each other.

Table 2
Correlation Matrix for Indian Immigrant Group

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Measure</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
<th>6</th>
<th>M</th>
<th>SD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. 3D-WS</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Cognitive</td>
<td>.77**</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Reflective</td>
<td>.82**</td>
<td>.35*</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Affective</td>
<td>.87**</td>
<td>.58**</td>
<td>.58**</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. ASTI</td>
<td>.51**</td>
<td>.18</td>
<td>.55**</td>
<td>.49**</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Equanimity</td>
<td>.43**</td>
<td>.02</td>
<td>.58**</td>
<td>.43**</td>
<td>.74**</td>
<td>-</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*p < .05
**p < .001

The analysis for the Indian group (see Table 3) revealed a significant positive linear relationship between all dimensions to the 3D-WS except the ASTI. The reflective dimension was also positively correlated to all dimensions/scales. The ASTI and equanimity were positively correlated. As we can see from these results, in India, the 3D-WS and the ASTI are not related to each other, which differs from the results of the Canadian and immigrant groups. The 3D-WS and the ASTI appear to be measuring a
different construct in India compared to Canada and the immigrant group. These differences will be further examined through the qualitative data.

### 5.3.2 MANOVA results

A multivariate ANOVA was conducted to follow-up on the correlational results on the two wisdom scales (3D-WS and ASTI), using group membership (Canadian, Indian, or Indian immigrant) as a predictor variable. The MANOVA revealed a significant main effect of group membership, $\lambda = .708$, $F(4, 240) = 11.29$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .158$. A follow-up ANOVA was run to assess the main effect of group membership on the two wisdom scales (3D-WS and ASTI). According to the ANOVA, group significantly predicts scores on the 3D-WS, $F(2,121) = 23.78$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .28$, and the ASTI, $F(2,121) = 3.80$, $p = .03$, $\eta_p^2 = .06$. Post hoc analyses using LSD yielded significant results between Canadians ($M = 3.80$, $SD = .26$) and Indian immigrants ($M = 3.52$, $SD = .39$), $p < .001$, Canadians and Indians ($M = 3.30$, $SD = .33$), $p < .001$, and Indian immigrants and Indians, $p = .01$, for the 3D-WS. Canadians scored significantly higher on the 3D-WS in comparison to Indian immigrants and Indians. Indian immigrants also scored significantly higher on the 3D-WS in comparison to Indians. Post hoc analyses for the ASTI yielded significant results between Canadians ($M = 3.62$, $SD = .45$) and Indian immigrants ($M = 3.39$, $SD = .50$), $p = .02$, and Canadians and Indians ($M = 3.38$, $SD = .39$), $p = .03$. There were no significant differences between Indian immigrants and Indians. Canadians scored significantly higher on the ASTI in comparison to Indian immigrants and Indians.

### 5.4 Perceived Life Satisfaction

A one-way between-subjects univariate ANOVA was conducted to test whether group predicts perceived life satisfaction. According to the ANOVA, group significantly predicts perceived life satisfaction, $F(2,120) = 12.26$, $p < .001$, $\eta_p^2 = .17$. Post hoc analyses using LSD yielded significant results between Canadians ($M = 5.47$, $SD = 1.07$) and Indian immigrants ($M = 4.30$, $SD = 1.49$), $p < .001$, and Canadians and Indians ($M = 4.51$, $SD = .90$), $p = .001$. Immigrants and Indians showed no significant difference. Canadians perceive themselves to be significantly more satisfied with their life than
Indian immigrants. In addition, Canadians perceive themselves to be significantly more satisfied with their life than Indians.

Two ANOVAs were conducted using group membership (Canadian, Indian immigrant, and Indian) and wisdom (as a continuous variable for the 3D-WS and the ASTI separately) as the predictor variables and perceived life satisfaction as the dependent variable. The first ANOVA yielded a significant main effect of the 3D-WS, $F(1,117) = 11.83, p = .001, \eta^2_p = .09$. The main effect of group and the interaction were non-significant. The second ANOVA yielded a significant main effect of the ASTI, $F(1,117) = 10.54, p = .002, \eta^2_p = .08$. The main effect of group and the interaction were non-significant. A correlational analysis was run to follow-up on these results to assess the direction of the relationship between wisdom and perceived life satisfaction. The analysis yielded a positive linear relationship between the 3D-WS and perceived life satisfaction, $r = .44, p < .001$, and the ASTI and perceived life satisfaction, $r = .40, p < .001$. Scoring higher on the 3D-WS or the ASTI predicts higher scores on perceived life satisfaction.

### 5.5 Interview Data

Using Bluck and Glück’s (2005) review of the subcomponents of wisdom in previous implicit theory research, our IPA analysis revealed the same five themes (i.e., cognitive abilities, insight, reflective attitude, concern for others, and real-world skills), in addition to a new theme: exemplary personality. These themes and their subcategories are presented in Table 4. Table 5 presents the frequencies of the themes present in all three groups. The results of the emergent theme analysis will be described in detail, comparing differences across how each of the groups describes a particular theme.

#### 5.5.1 Cognitive Abilities

Participants mentioned many different cognitive abilities that were not always common among all three groups. For example, four Canadian participants spoke about how wise individuals are always eager to learn, whereas the other two groups did not describe this phenomenon. One Canadian participant was speaking about their grandfather and how he was always eager to learn:
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cognitive abilities</th>
<th>Insight</th>
<th>Reflective attitude</th>
<th>Concern for others</th>
<th>Real-world skills</th>
<th>Exemplary personality</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Knowledge and being</td>
<td>Intuitive</td>
<td>Learning from</td>
<td>Selfless</td>
<td>Giving advice</td>
<td>Goal-oriented</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>able to apply it</td>
<td>Tolerance of uncertainty</td>
<td>Awareness</td>
<td>Compassion</td>
<td>Problem-solving skills</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sharing knowledge</td>
<td>Perspective-taking</td>
<td>Understanding</td>
<td>Patient</td>
<td>Grounded</td>
<td>Passionate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Educated for the</td>
<td>Doing things</td>
<td>Overcoming</td>
<td>Helpful</td>
<td>Good decision-making skills</td>
<td>Leadership</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eager to learn</td>
<td>for the adversity</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Supportive</td>
<td>Mature</td>
<td>Makes an impact</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Good memory</td>
<td>Religious/spiritual</td>
<td>Just</td>
<td>Communication</td>
<td>Analytical/rational skills</td>
<td>Inspiring</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curiosity</td>
<td>Search for truth</td>
<td>Making sacrifices</td>
<td>Honest</td>
<td>Social</td>
<td>Successful</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Appreciation</td>
<td></td>
<td>Loyal</td>
<td></td>
<td>Innovative</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Perseverance</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
He had read a lot. He always- he was very passionate about reading and sort of gaining knowledge through that. So certainly from that and he had gained a lot of experience and knowledge. (YF-04)

The immigrant participants typically described an individual’s overall knowledge or intellect, rather than mentioning how they share or apply their knowledge. One participant stated:

I think it's a pattern that I've seen not just in him but in people who are well read I think they're born with it and it's just their destiny they're the intellectual type he did that by observing people around him. (ID NI23)

Their understanding of knowledge fits into a more inherent knowledge, whereas Canadians and Indians describe being able to apply your knowledge and sharing your knowledge as what makes you wise, rather than just knowledge itself.

I think if you- once you have the knowledge then you can practice with some of it I suppose. I don’t think you can like read wisdom. You can maybe read facts … and sort of maybe gain knowledge, but I think wisdom is sort of the practice of that knowledge… (YF 04 – Canadian participant)

I feel that I have been intellectual because of my studies. I believe what you study should be implemented and I think I have done that. (ID I6 – Indian participant referring to how she has become wiser)
5.5.2 Insight

Canadian participants were more likely to mention themes related to insight. For example, Canadians were the only ones to mention intuition as an aspect of wisdom.

I think intuition helps … because she tends to be able to read a situation accurately and a lot of people don’t have that. (YF 06)

Canadians thought a type of instinctual insight of understanding a situation or other people constituted someone as being wise. Participants from all three groups mentioned perspective-taking as important for wisdom. This involves looking at situations from another person’s perspective or having a more holistic view of the world. All of these wise individuals tend to look at a situation from another view other than their own in order to understand all different aspects of a particular situation in order to gage how someone else is feeling or what would be the best outcome for the situation.

It would have been unwise like… talking with him from knowing only his point of view. So I think knowing only one side of a coin is not good, you have to know about both the sides. (ID I4 – Indian participant)

So I just think that he’s wise because he’s stepped back and looked at the whole history of the United States, which has quite a history, from, I guess, the point of view of all those people- of all the different minorities and the different- all, all such people. He’s just wise because he’s just able to do that for one and um therefore he just- and I think that’s the one- it’s the thing of wisdom, being able to see, as I guess I mentioned with my dad, the point of view of so many different people. And then to take those yourself and kind of, you know, work through them. (YM21 – Canadian participant speaking about Abraham Lincoln)

Well she’s not been like the typical mom as always like she always looks things at different perspective and not like from a parent’s perspective… (ID OI3 – Immigrant participant)

5.5.3 Reflective Attitude

Reflective attitude was a common theme among all groups. This describes wise people as those who reflect back on past experiences or their inner self to get a better understanding of the world and of themselves. Self-understanding, or self-discovery, was only mentioned by the Canadian and the immigrant participants. This type of reflection was not mentioned in the Indian group. These individuals spoke about finding a destiny or a
path in life that gives them purpose or some type of self-understanding. The people that have figured this out, or are trying to figure this out, are those on the path to wisdom.

You know like being true to yourself and it's such a vague concept and I'm still trying to understand it after all these years but it's like this idea that the self… part of ourselves, something that needs to be discovered… it knows the truth about what we're supposed to be, like we all have these destinies and if we could only find out what… it all means then we can then be happy and fulfilled. (YM14 – Canadian participant)

He inspired me to find my own way in my life… because of his handwork and life, he helped me to get more confidence… You face challenges, accept challenges, and [grow] find my way. (ID NI5 – Immigrant participant)

The majority of participants in all three groups that mentioned reflective attitude as essential to wisdom described how important experience is for building wisdom. Typically, this involved learning from mistakes, learning from others, or learning lessons. Wise individuals reflect on their past and how it is important for developing their current self. They understand that the mistakes they made in the past have helped form them into who they are today and have guided them to understanding how to deal with difficult situations in the present and in the future.

I think a person acquires the wisdom when they experience things. I don’t think it’s anything to do with age but it’s about wisdom comes when you go out in the world and you see things and you lived through something then wisdom comes. (ID I14 – Indian participant)

…with other experiences in their life and they could, I think, by that they could be able to uhm make connections and uhm extract out certain components of that experience, whether it be uhm morals, uhm right from wrong, let’s say, and that could all be I guess uhm…that can help that person make different decisions, more correct decisions in a next, a similar experience down the road. (YM19 – Canadian participant)

It always goes back to experience, just the experiences that people have had and the way those things have changed them. I think that's what makes them wise. (ID NI7 – Immigrant participant)

5.5.4 Concern for others

There were many individual traits that were mentioned in relation to concern for others, such as kindness, trustworthiness, loyalty, and honesty. All groups agreed that concern
for others is a large component of wise individuals, although there were some differences between the groups in what type of compassionate characteristics a wise person might have. Canadians and Indians mentioned a non-judgmental nature to wise individuals. These people respect all individuals equally, are very accepting, and do not discriminate. Some examples of this are as follows:

He has given many rights to us so we can feel equal to others in the society and community. I feel proud that someone has worked to give us an equal place in society. (ID I18 – Indian participant speaking about a doctor in their community)

I think that if I keep an open mind, that I’m non-judgmental and you know, just kind of – with whatever happens, you deal with it, then uh I think that that would allow for – for resilience and hopefully, eventually, maybe to become more wise. (YF08 – Canadian participant)

This non-judgmental nature allows individuals to connect with others and develop a type of resiliency that can lead them to become wiser. All three groups mentioned that wise individuals are very supportive and have helped them in times of need (or they have helped others in times of need themselves). These are typically the people in the participants lives that they nominate as wise that show this supportive characteristic. For example,

My dad has been very supportive since my childhood… my dad was the one who let me take up arts. But everyone in the family was against it. But he was like, “let her do what she likes”. Then my dad is the one who believes in me, listens to me and understands me… He was the one he heard me out patiently in what I want to do… He’s been my guide… (ID I12 – Indian participant)

I mean every situation that I’ve ever had my dad has been there whether it was a cheerleading competition or helping me prepare for interviews later on in life, buying a house, everything he’s been there to be able to support me and to provide guidance and I think that’s also a sign of true wisdom is not just telling me things he shows me things and he knows that I’ll get there because he’s wise enough to know that I need to experience something to figure it out… but he’s still there to support me along the way. (YF23 – Canadian participant)

I would like to say my mom, I don’t know like I know my mom… like she would never say that don’t do that and don’t do this… she will always be supporting me. (ID O19 – Immigrant participant)

These wise individuals provide guidance for others; they listen and support the decisions that others make. They do not judge others decisions; they support them in any endeavour
that they chose. These wise individuals truly care about the well-being of others and show their kindness and support in order to help others achieve success and happiness in their lives.

5.5.5 Real-world skills

Real-world skills were mentioned more frequently for immigrants, especially in comparison to the Indian group. Although, Canadians and Indians did agree more on what real-world skills are important to wise individuals. Canadians and Indians typically mentioned problem-solving skills and good decision-making skills more often than the immigrant group. This included solving difficult situations calmly and respectfully with others, as well as making decisions that have impacted the individual’s life or others lives in a positive way.

So I thought that by leaving the house, it was a really wise decision. Because now that I am independent, I am happy[jer] than I was before. I can do things that I want. Not in terms of freedom or wrong things but in terms of things I like and social matters. (ID I11 – Indian participant talking about a wise decision that they made)

I think one of the biggest point that shows how wise she was, dealing with the man who was overtly racist to her…the way that she handled him…she responded to him wasn’t with anger…she was more like…sorry for the guy because he didn’t understand what he was actually saying…she just said I understand completely that you are angry with me but that doesn’t mean that you have to…you know…use [those tricks] with me…she knew, at that point that umm…she’d said as much as she could and she walked away, like she left it the way it was…the fact that she was able to back down even though she knew that she is right. (YM07 – Canadian participant talking about his mother’s problem-solving skills)

The immigrant group and the Canadian group agreed more on communication skills as important for being wise, whereas very few Indians associated communication skills with wisdom. Having extraordinary social skills and being articulate were important to immigrants and Canadians for wisdom. By having these types of skills, wise individuals can build better relationships with others and explain issues with more simplicity than the average individual. By doing these things, they build trust with others, as well as help to spread awareness on issues in a way that everyone can understand.
…he did a presentation to the students and he was so comfortable talking about it he was able to answer all the questions that any of them had about it and being able to see him take such a complex job and talk about it in such a simple way to kids I mean…as teachers we’re able to do that because we’re used to do that everyday…but somebody who works in the corporate world is not used to having to speak different languages you know and…and take their high level order thinking down to basic level for the kids. (YF23 – Canadian participant talking about their dad)

…having worked under all these people, he knows how to interact with different kinds of people no matter where they are from or what their background is –he is always…they just love him [laughs], they love talking to him, which is a good skill to possess. (ID NI3 – Immigrant participant talking about their grandfather)

5.5.6 Exemplary Personality

This theme is new to the implicit theories of wisdom literature, but is in line with the research on exemplarist theories. The exemplary personality theme describes wise individuals as those who work hard to achieve their goals in life by challenging social conventions and making some type of impact on the world. These people are born leaders who take risks and are passionate about making a difference and inspiring others, which typically leads them on the path to a successful life. This theme was most common among the immigrant participants, but not significantly different from the other two groups. Canadians viewed these exemplary individuals as “successful”, whereas the other two groups did not. One Canadian participant in particular was talking about what could have happened to their success if they had made the same unwise decisions that their peers have made.

…but I know that a lot of them are still kind of doing the same thing they were doing 15 years ago; they’re still living in their parents’ basement and working at the grocery store where they were worked at when they were 16 years old, and not a whole lot has changed, and I think it’s a real possibility had I not made the decisions I made at that time. (YM3)

Perseverance, standing up for your beliefs, and leadership were most commonly mentioned between all three groups. Perseverance was described by participants as following through with one’s goals and continuing to fight for what they believe in, despite the challenges that they might have encountered.
Standing up for your beliefs was an interesting subcategory of this theme. Participants typically spoke of cultural or historical figures that have fought for human rights or stood up for their personal beliefs in order to make an impact on world at that particular time. Gandhi and his idea of non-violence was common among the participants, as they described his eagerness to fight for what he believed was morally right.

I read his autobiography, like a really short one, and a thing that I took with me, and a thing that stuck with me, that if you know you are right, you should stand for it no matter what. So say you are in a situation and you are the only guy on one side and then everyone else is on the other side, and you know you are taking a morally right stance you should not give in, and you should just stand up for whatever your position is. (ID OI17 – Immigrant participant talking about Gandhi)

Typically, leadership was an important quality to these exemplary individuals. They had to possess the skills necessary to persuade people into making a difference or understanding what they were fighting for. These people provided guidance on what is right or wrong or just guidance to others in general. For example, one Indian participant mentioned, 

I was a leader once in a team of eight to ten members. It’s important for a leader to guide members according to you. I had two other team leaders in the group. I used to take personal meetings with them and I used to tell them what to do next. With them, I used to be logical with them and experienced with them. They liked what I used to say and felt I put thought into it. (ID I110)

These qualities of an exemplary individual align with a likeability and understanding. These people can lead a crowd and accomplish their goals. They achieve success; whether it be in helping others or for their own personal accomplishments. These exemplary individuals are wise in how they carry themselves and how others see them.
Chapter 6

6 Discussion

6.1 Summary and Discussion of Findings

The purpose of the present study was to examine whether emerging adults in Canada, India, and those who have immigrated from India to Canada differ on their implicit theories of wisdom. In addition, immigrant identity status was examined to determine whether or not identity status impacted their understanding of wisdom through the life experience of immigration. Life satisfaction was also examined to see whether groups differ on life satisfaction based on their wisdom scores. The findings for the identity status of the subsample of immigrant participants showed that the majority of immigrants reported an achieved identity status for both their Indian and their Canadian identities. It appears that over half of the immigrant participants have achieved status of both their Indian and Canadian identities. It is not evident if these individuals were achieved for both their Canadian and Indian identity as individuals, but it could be suggested that there are a large portion that will. This idea of integration, which is the ultimate goal according to Berry (2005), has important implications for the immigrants understanding of wisdom. Another interesting finding was that there were more immigrant participants that were in identity diffusion for their Canadian identities, in comparison to their Indian identities. Marcia (1980) described identity diffusion as the least complex of the four identity statuses, stating that these individuals may be undergoing an identity crisis. It would make sense that the immigrant participants are experiencing more of a crisis with their Canadian identity, rather than their Indian identity, as they still are assimilating into the new culture. This result was consistent with our hypothesis that the majority of the immigrant group would show achieved identity status for both their Canadian and Indian identities.

The findings from the statistical analyses indicate that in Canada, the 3D-WS and the ASTI are related to the majority of the dimensions of wisdom in both scales (except the affective dimension for the ASTI), as well as to each other. This might suggest that these
two scales are measuring the same construct of wisdom in Canada. The Indian immigrant group had similar results to the Canadian group (except no relation for the cognitive dimension with the ASTI). Again, this might suggest that these two scales are measuring the same construct for the Indian immigrant group, considering the 3D-WS and the ASTI were related, as well as being related to the majority of the dimensions. In India, the 3D-WS and the ASTI were not related to each other. The 3D-WS and the ASTI may not be measuring the same construct of wisdom in India as it is in Canada and in the immigrant group. These results might suggest that all three groups understand wisdom differently.

The follow-up MANOVA to the correlational results showed that group predicted wisdom scores on the 3D-WS and the ASTI. For the 3D-WS, Canadians were scoring significantly higher than Indian immigrants and Indians. In addition, Indian immigrants were scoring significantly higher on the 3D-WS than the Indians. For the ASTI, Canadians were scoring significantly higher than Indian immigrants and Indians, but there were no significant differences between Indian immigrants and Indians. These results may not necessarily indicate that Canadians are wiser than Indian immigrants and Indians. These results rather might indicate that Canadians, Indian immigrants, and Indians are understanding the questions on the 3D-WS and the ASTI differently. It appears that for the 3D-WS, the Indian immigrant participants are moving towards a Canadian (or westernized) conception of wisdom. This may be due to the specific questions addressed in the 3D-WS. For the ASTI, Indian immigrants and Indians do not differ and it appears that the immigrant’s participants may still side with their Indian cultural understanding of wisdom, again, due to the questions in the ASTI representing a more transcendent view of wisdom.

The results of the ANOVA examining whether group membership predicted perceived life satisfaction showed that Canadians perceived themselves to be significantly more satisfied with their lives compared to Indian immigrants and Indians. There were no significant differences between Indians and Indian immigrants. This SWLS could be interpreted differently between Canadian and Indian culture, as some questions pertain to the accomplishment of goals in one’s life. If citizens from one country are more future-oriented, they may not feel that their lives are their ideal just yet, considering these
participants are still in emerging adulthood. This could lead their perceived life satisfaction scores to decrease. Interestingly, even though there was no significant difference between Indians and Indian immigrants, immigrants had the lowest perceived life satisfaction. The Indian immigrant participants may be less satisfied with their life due to the difficulties they might be experiencing during the immigration experience. This experience may have offset an individual’s developmental tasks for that age and, therefore, these individuals may not feel their lives are close to their ideal.

The two ANOVAs conducted using group membership and wisdom (as a continuous variable) as the predictor variables and perceived life satisfaction as the dependent variable showed there was a main effect of wisdom (the 3D-WS and the ASTI) on perceived life satisfaction. The main effect of group membership and the interaction between group membership and wisdom were both not significant. Follow-up correlational results showed that those scoring higher on the 3D-WS and the ASTI predict higher scores of perceived life satisfaction. These results are consistent with past research showing that wisdom is correlated to life satisfaction (Ardelt, 1997; Le, 2011). It would make sense that the groups (Canadian, Indian, and Indian immigrant) would not differ on life satisfaction based on their wisdom scores, as all wise individuals should be scoring higher on life satisfaction.

The results of the qualitative data show that there were six main themes present in the interview wisdom narratives. These themes were cognitive abilities, insight, reflective attitude, concern for others, real-world skills, and exemplary personality. At least half of the participants in each group mentioned all of these themes in their description of wisdom and wise individuals. There were not any large differences between the groups in terms of the broad themes used in their wisdom narratives, but there were differences in how they characterized each of the themes. The new theme “exemplary personality” described individuals who are passionate to challenge social conventions and make an impact on the world. This new theme is in line with exemplarist theories, such as Paulhus et al. (2002) and Zagzebski (2013). Individuals have an engrained perception in their minds as to what a wise individual ought to be like (Paulhus et al., 2002). They may attribute similar characteristics in themselves, family members, or others as exemplary in
nature, due to this perception that this characteristic is seen as wise. Neither the theme of exemplary personality, nor real-world skills, are present in the 3D-WS or the ASTI. These two themes represent something more unique to a wise individual and these differences between implicit and explicit theories of wisdom need to be addressed in future studies.

The differences between Canadians and Indians were not as large as expected in the broad themes present in their interviews. Canadians and Indians agreed on many of the broad themes of wisdom, which is contradictory to the previous literature on cross-cultural differences in the understanding of wisdom. In the past, wisdom research has shown that individuals in the West relate wisdom to knowledge, whereas individuals in the East relate wisdom more to experience and concern for others (Takahashi & Bordia, 2000). The current study found that Canadians and Indians did agree on the majority of themes related to wisdom. Some differences were that Canadians mentioned intuition, self-understanding, communication skills, and success as important for wisdom, whereas the Indian group did not. Canadians and Indians did have a high degree of similarity on their views of how cognitive features are related to wisdom. Both Canadians and Indians viewed sharing and applying your knowledge as essential characteristics of a wise individual. Overall, as previous research suggests, Canadians did mention cognitive abilities more than the Indian group, but there were not many differences in how Canadians and Indians described the six different themes in detail in their wisdom narratives. Furthermore, the differences between the quantitative results and the qualitative results could be explained by the missing themes present in the two questionnaires used, such as real-world skills and exemplary personality. In addition, our qualitative analysis captured more subcategories of themes that were not present in the two scales (3D-WS and ASTI) that could account for the similarities present in the IPA analysis compared to the statistical analyses. The differences between the West and the East in their views of wisdom may not be as significantly different as previously thought.

The immigrant group results show that their implicit theories of wisdom are similar to those of both the Canadian and the Indian group. All three groups had a similar understanding of insight, learning from experience, being supportive to others, and
exemplary personality. The immigrant group did appear to agree more with the Canadian group, in comparison to the Indian group, on how they described some of the themes related to wisdom. For example, immigrants agreed that a type of self-discovery or self-understanding is important for becoming wise. In addition, the Canadian and the immigrant group both agreed that communication skills are essential for a wise individual to navigate through the social environment. Immigrants also showed a more diverse understanding of wisdom. They mentioned real-world skills and exemplary personality more often than Canadians and Indians. Immigrants also mentioned cognitive abilities less often than the other two groups and were more likely to align with the idea that knowledge is innate. These results might suggest that the immigrant group is gravitating towards the Canadian group in their understanding of wisdom. As we could see from the MANOVA results, the immigrant group scored in the middle between Canadians and Indians on the 3D-WS and could be interpreting themes present in both the 3D-WS and their idea of personal wisdom as closer to Canadian wisdom culture. Moreover, their diverse understanding may represent an integration of ideas from their Canadian and their Indians cultures, in line with our hypothesis that they would incorporate aspects of both cultures into their conception of personal wisdom.

It would make sense that the immigrant group would find real-world skills and exemplary personality as important to wisdom, as these skills are essential for succeeding in the transition to a new country. Communication skills are a high priority for immigrants, as learning a new language may be a difficult task and those that can master the language are those that are more likely to succeed. Considering exemplary personalities may help immigrants in accomplishing the necessary goals needed to assimilate well into a new culture. Goal setting, passion, and hard-work all describe attributes that would help one overcome a difficult challenge or transition in their life. These skills represent possible developmental tasks that differ from the norm that immigrants experience that afford them the opportunity to develop this different understanding of wisdom (König & Glück, 2012). Being challenged by these new tasks, immigrants need to find creative ways to adapt to their new environment.
This diverse understanding of wisdom that these Indian immigrant participants are describing relates back to the development of identity and its importance to acculturation in emerging adulthood. Immigrants go through an experience (i.e., moving to a new country) that challenges them and can foster the development of their ethnic identity (McLean & Pasupathi, 2012). As we can see from the results, the immigrant participants did possess an achieved identity status for both of their ethnic identities (Canadian and Indian). This is important, as achieved identity status has been found to be the only identity process that predicts self-transcendence (Beaumont, 2009), a type of wisdom. This achieved identity status can lead individuals on the path to wisdom, as they are now able to respond appropriately to difficult life dilemmas (Orwoll & Perlmutter, 1990). Learning from life, as described in Brown’s (2004) model, allows these immigrant participants to develop wisdom through immigration and the lessons learned through this transition help them through their journey. These experiences afford immigrants the opportunity to develop a more comprehensive understanding of the world around them.

The findings of the current study have important implications for understanding positive development in immigrant emerging adults. Research on immigration typically focuses on the negative aspects, such as poor mental health or suicide risk, rather than the positive aspects. Dealing with the challenge of moving to a new country may initiate a more concrete process of identity development in emerging adulthood. This positive transformation can lead these individuals on the path to wisdom.

6.2 Limitations and Future Research

Although the present study makes a significant contribution to the wisdom literature, results should be interpreted in light of the limitations of the study. The samples may not be representative of the associated country or of other immigrant populations. With the research being conducted in Toronto, Ontario, a large multi-cultural city, it may not reflect the views of all Canadians. In addition, this immigrant group could differ from immigrant groups of other ethnicities that have moved to smaller, less diverse cities. The immigrant sample is also problematic, as the data was collected at two different time points. One benefit to our sample was that it consisted of university students. University students may have a more developed understanding of wisdom, due to their levels of
education compared to others their age. Perry (1999) has shown that college education exposes emerging adults to different worldviews, and this allows college students to question their original worldviews from adolescence or childhood—a point also made by Brown (2004).

Some of the measures used in the current study may pose limitations to the findings. The 3-D WS and the ASTI are Westernized measurements, which could explain the differences in the statistical results. This does raise the question as to whether or not these two scales measure the same construct of wisdom in Canada and in India. Furthermore, The Indian Identity Scale and The Canadian Identity Scale were only completed by the new immigrant participants collected from 2014-2015. It would have been advantageous to compare identity status across all three groups to understand whether or not there is a universal effect of identity on the understanding of wisdom.

The lack of interview data would appear to pose an initial problem, as several Indian and immigrant participants lack interview data. However, Smith et al. (2009) suggest using six participants as a minimum for all IPA analyses. Therefore, our total number of interviews for each group is substantial and represents the data well.

Future research should consider using longitudinal studies to examine if identity status in emerging adulthood has an effect on wisdom at later developmental stages, including old age. In addition, similar studies should be conducted with immigrants from countries other than India and in locations other than Canada to see if the results hold.

6.3 Conclusion

In summary, the current study indicates that Indian immigrants do have a diverse understanding of wisdom compared to Canadians and Indians. Identity may have played a role in their understanding, as the Indian immigrant participants did report an achieved identity status for their Canadian and Indian identities. Overall, it appears that the challenging life transition of immigration may change an individual’s worldview and begin to foster the development of wisdom. This positive outlook on immigration has many implications for future research in the area, in terms of successful aging in
immigrants. It is critical for future research to concretely examine the effects of identity on the conception of wisdom cross-culturally and in the immigrant population.
References


Mansfield, C. D., McLean, K. C., & Lilgendahl, J. P. (2010). Narrating traumas and transgressions: Links between narrative processing, wisdom, and well-


Appendix A

Consent Form 1

Dear Participant,

A study is being carried out at the University of Toronto in cooperation with the Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute through a faculty research fellowship given to Divya Sharma. As this study is part of a larger research project, you will be asked questions about your own life experience, about people you know, and what lessons you have learned from life. You will also be asked about your well-being, your immigrant experience, and about what you value. In total, the interview will last about 1.5 hours and everything you say will be kept confidential. After the study has been completed, we will be happy to provide you with the results and with a copy of your own interview transcript, which you might find interesting.

In appreciation, a small honorarium of $15 will be provided. The interview will take place at OISE (252 Bloor St.W) or wherever is convenient for you.

This study is being carried out at the University of Toronto by Divya Sharma (Assistant Professor at Maharaja Sayajirao University of Baroda) and Michel Ferrari (Associate Professor at OISE UT). If you would like further information about the study please contact Michel Ferrari by e-mail, at michel.ferrari@utoronto.ca or Divya Sharma by email at drdivyaneeraj@gmail.com, or by phone 289-242-1216.

Sincerely,

Divya Sharma

Michel Ferrari
Appendix B

Consent Form 2

I understand that a study is being carried out at the University of Toronto in cooperation with the Shastri Indo-Canadian Institute through a faculty research fellowship given to Divya Sharma. As this study is part of a larger research project, I will be asked questions about my own life experience, about people I know and consider wise, and what lessons I have learned from life. I will also be asked about my well-being, my immigrant experience, and about what I value. In total, the interview will last about 1.5 hours and everything I say will be kept confidential. After the study has been completed, the researchers will be happy to provide me with the results. The researchers will also provide me with a copy of my own interview transcript. There are no known risks to participating in this study and I am free to withdraw or skip any questions I like without penalty.

I consent to participate in this study and by signing this form, acknowledge receipt of a $15 payment upon completion of the interview.

Participant: __________________________  Date:_______________
Appendix C

Demographic Questionnaire

A Cross-Cultural Study of Wisdom

Name or desired pseudonym of respondent: ______________________ NAME

Date: ______/_____/______ SURVDATE

MONTH DAY YEAR

Phone number or Email Address (to contact you about the study results):

__________________________
Survey Questionnaire

This is the second part of our study. I am going to read a number of statements to you together with the potential answers. There are no “right” or “wrong” answers. Simply indicate the answer that describes YOU best. Although some of the statements and questions will appear similar, we would like to ask you to answer all of the questions. Again, remember that all your answers will remain confidential.

**Demographic Characteristics**

First, we would like to ask some questions about you as a person.

1. Gender:  
   [Interviewer, please mark the right box.]
   
   **GENDER**
   1 [ ] Female  
   2 [ ] Male

2. Are you a member of any ethnic group or people that you identify with?  
   1 [ ] Gujarati  
   2 [ ] Punjabi  
   3 [ ] Other:______________

3. What is your highest level of education?  
   **EDUCDEG**
   1 [ ] No high school  
   2 [ ] High school degree or equivalent  
   3 [ ] Some college  
   4 [ ] Bachelor’s Degree or equivalent  
   5 [ ] Master’s Degree or equivalent  
   6 [ ] Doctoral Degree or equivalent

4. How many years of schooling (including university education) do you have?  
   ____________ years of schooling
   **EDUCYEAR**

5. What is your family Structure?  
   1 [ ] Nuclear (Mother, father, and Siblings)  
   2 [ ] Joint (including grandparents  
   3 [ ] extended (relatives living nearby)  
   4 [ ] Single parent  
   5 [ ] Separated

6. What kind of work have you done most of your life? Please be specific: **OCCUP**

   __________________________________________________________________________
7. What is your current marital status?  
   \textit{MSTATUS}  
   1 [ ] Never married  
   2 [ ] Married  
   3 [ ] Widowed  
   4 [ ] Divorced  
   5 [ ] Separated

8. Do you have children?  
   \textit{CHILD}  
   yes 1 [ ] How many?: \underline{\hspace{2cm}} \textit{NCHILD}  
   no 0 [ ]

9. What is your religious affiliation?  
   \textit{RELIGAFF}  
   \underline{\hspace{10cm}}

10. On a scale from 0 to 10, how \textit{RELIGIOUS} would you say you are?  
    \textit{RELIGDEG}  
    \underline{\hspace{16cm}}

11. On a scale from 0 to 10, how \textit{SPIRITUAL} would you say you are?  
    \textit{SPIRITDEG}  
    \underline{\hspace{16cm}}

12. Where were you born?  
   \textit{BRTHCNTY}  
   \underline{\hspace{10cm}}  
   \textit{BRTHPLCE}  
   \underline{\hspace{10cm}}

13. Where have you lived most of your life?  
    \textit{LIVEPLCE}  
    \underline{\hspace{10cm}}

14. What is your date of birth?  
    \textit{AGE}  
    \underline{\hspace{10cm}}

15. What is your Postal Code?  
    \underline{\hspace{10cm}}
Appendix D

Interview Guide

Thank you very much for agreeing to do this interview for us. As you know we are going to be talking about wisdom and what it means in people’s lives.

1. Now first, I would like to ask you about your self. Tell me a bit about your self and your life story.
   a. In order to help you remember what has happened in your life and how it affected you, you might find it useful to draw what we call a ‘Life-line.’
      i. As you can see, on the left side of this blank graph paper, we find a line that ranges from negative at the bottom to positive at the top. Along the bottom of the page, we have numbers from Birth to 30.
      ii. Now, I invite you to please:
          1. Trace a line showing of the ups and downs of your life at different ages.
          2. Mark significant events in your life with an X at the age they occurred.
      iii. Now, looking at the line you have drawn and the Xs you have marked, what are some of the things you remember most about your childhood and your life?
   b. [Or if you find drawing a life-line like this difficult, please just talk about your life in any way you like.]
   c. Now, considering everything you have said, or anything new you would like to add, please tell me what you consider your most important memories of events that help make you the person you are today.
   d. Do you consider yourself an adult now?
      i. Why/Why not?
   e. How does it feel to be an immigrant or from an Immigrant family?
      i. Share your immigrant experience in Canada: What challenges have you or your family encountered, and how did you resolve them?
   f. What do you value most in your life?
      i. Why?

2. For my next question in this part of the interview, I would like to ask you, to please take a moment to think of the wisest person you know in your own life.
   a. Who is this person?
   b. What makes [this person] so wise? (Why did you choose them?)
   c. What is one story you know about [this person], or one thing [this person] said or did that shows [this person] is wise?
   d. What was wise about that?
   e. How did [the person the respondent chose] get to be so wise?
i. How has [this person] affected or inspired you in your own life?
ii. Is it possible for you to become more like [this person]?

3. **Now about yourself. Please think of some times in your life when you were wise or approached being wise.**
   a. What were those times?
   b. [IF MANY] You have listed [these times]: Please tell me which of these times in your life you were the most wise?
   c. How were you wise? How would it have been unwise if you had been different?

4. **Finally, please take a moment to think of the wisest person you can know of in history.**
   a. Who is this person?
   b. What makes [this person] so wise? (Why did you choose him/her?)
   c. What is one story you know about [this person], or one thing [this person] said or did that shows [this person] is wise?
   d. What was wise about that?
   e. **How did [the person the respondent chose] get to be so wise?**
      i. How has [this person] affected or inspired you in your own life?
      ii. Is it possible for you to become more like [this person]?

5. **For my final question in this part of the interview, I would like to ask you, now that we have had a chance to talk about it,**
   a. “What is wisdom? What does wisdom mean to you?”